

chief business for six months with the desired result. A campaign of education is undemocratic. It implies that some one is teacher and somebody else pupil. It can only result in the elucidation of popular interests and the firmer establishment of popular prejudice. On the other hand, an agitation which appeals skillfully to pet notions and to latent fanaticism may stampede the masses. The Middle Ages furnished a number of cases. The Mahdis who have arisen in Mohammedan Africa, and other Moslem prophets, have produced wonderful phenomena of this kind. The silver agitation was begun, in 1878, by a systematic effort of three or four newspapers in the middle West, addressed to currency notions which the greenback proposition had popularized. What is the limit to the possibilities of fanaticism and frenzy which might be produced in any society by agitation skillfully addressed to the fallacies and passions of the masses? The answer lies in the mores, which determine the degree of reserved common sense, and the habit of observing measure and method, to which the masses have been accustomed. It follows that popular agitation is a desperate and doubtful method. The masses, as the great popular jury which, at last, by adoption or rejection, decides the fate of all proposed changes in the mores, needs stability and moderation. Popular agitation introduces into the masses initiative and creative functions which destroy its judgment and call for quite other qualities.

60. The ruling element in the masses. The masses are liable to controlling influences from elements which they contain. When crises arise in a democratic state attention is concentrated on the most numerous strata nearest to *MN* (see the diagram,

p. 40), but they rarely possess self-determination
 unless the ques-
 tion at issue appeals directly to popular interest or
 popular vanity. Moreover, those strata cannot rule unless they
 combine with
 those next above and below. So the critical
 question always is,
 in regard to the masses *PQRS*, which parts of it
 will move the
 whole of it. Generally the question is, more
 specifically, What
 is the character of the strata above a line through
A or *B*, and
 what is their relation to the rest of *PQRS*? If the
 upper part
 of the section *PQRS* consists of employers and
 the lower part